28. Tessman --338 (No date) 1930 Jivaro

116, 114

'Ethnographic literature: Of all the tribes of Eastern Peru the Chiwaros are most frequently discussed in ethnographic literature. With the exception of the Uitotos there is no other tribe about which so many monographic studies--at least concerning certain aspects--have been written as in the case of the Chiwaros. To the Finnish scholar Rafael Karsten must go the credit for having written scientifically sound descriptions of the Chiwaro culture. The following list of publications [KS: See category 113] does not claim to be complete. I have omitted the rich literature concerning the mummified heads and the notes published by various museums. A chronologically arranged survey of this type of literature may be found in L'Anthropologie, XIX, p. 74 (author: Rivet). I have included only a few recent notes on this subject. I did not include the article by Milacsek (Buenos Aires), published in 'Erdball' (1927), p. 372, since this article is not based upon a knowledge of the Chiwaros, though Milacsek pretends that he had visited the tribe. The book written by the Princess Theresa of Bavaria, Reisestudien im westlichen Südamerika (Berlin, 1908), vol. I, p. 271 contains at least a few good pictures; otherwise the book does not contain any personal observations concerning the Chiwaros.

28: Tessman--338 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 101

The name Chíwaro derives perhaps from the Kandoschi language, for they call the Chíwaro šuara. This may have been the basis for jívaro (Spanish), since the form šiwora also occurs (Beuchat). The Chiwaros themselves do not have a name of their own for the entire tribe. Each sub-tribe has a name of its own.

Aside from the Spanish version Jivaro one can also find Jibaro (often spelled Xivaro and Xibaro in ancient times), furthermore: Givari, Xivari, Chivari (Italian writers!), Givaro, Zibaro, Jivara, Jivira, and Hibaro.

"1863. Bollaert, William. On the idol Head of the Jivaro Indians of Ecuador in: Transactions of the Ethnological. Soc. of London. N.S. Vol. II, S. 112-118. London 1863. *
[341]
1873. Hamy, Ernest Theodore. Nouveaux renseignements sur les indiens jivaros in: Revue d'Anthrop. Série I, Tom. II, S. 385-397. Paris 1873. *
1874. Lubbock, John. Note on the Macas Indians in: Journal of the Royal Anthr. Inst. of Gr. Britain and Ireland. Vol. III., N. 1, S. 29.
1880. Reiß, W. Ein Besuch bei den Jivaros-Indianern in: Verhandl. d. Ges. für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Bd. VII, S. 325-337. Berlin 1880.
1883. Colini, Guiseppe Angelo. Osservazioni etnografiche sui Givari. Roma 1883 in 'Memoire dell'Accademia dei Lincei' Roma 1882-- 83, p. 25.
1883. --, Collezione etnologica degli indigene del l'alto Amazoni. Bollettino della Società Giegrafica Italiana I, 1883. Ser. II, Vol. VIII, Anno XVII, 1883, S. 287 ff.
1885. Prieto, A.S. Descripción de la provincia de los Jivaros. Quito 1885 in: Compte Francisco Maria: Varones ilustres de la orden Serafica en el Ecuador, ed. 2, t. II., S. 63. Quito 1885.
1903. Montané, Luis. Chanchas y Jivaros in: Cronica médico quirurgica de la Habana. T. XXIX, No. 22. Habana 1903.

*[KS: sources are in the files]

1903. Ambrosetti, Juan B.: Cabeza humana preparada según el procedimiento de los indios Jívaros del Ecuador. Anales del Museo Nacional de Buenos Aires, Ser. 3, Tom. II, S. 519-523. Buenos Aires 1903.
1907-08. Rivet, Paul: Les Indiens Jivaros. L'Anthropologie T. XVIII. 1907. S. 333-368, 583-618, T. XIX, 1908 S. 69-87, 235-259. Paris.
1916. Seeler, E.: Museumsnotiz. Präparierte Feindesköpfe bei den Jivarostämmen des oberen Marañon und bei den alten Bewohnern des Departaments Ica an der Küste von Peru. Baessler-Archiv. Bd. VI. Heft 1--2. Leipzig--Berlin 1922. S. 82-86.
1917. Hermessen, J.L. A journey on the Rio Zamora, Ecuador in: The Geographical Review publ. by the American Geographical Society of New York. December 1917. *
1919. Farabee, William Curtius. Mummified Jivaro Heads, Pennsylvania University Museum Journal. Vol. X. S. 173-183. Philadelphia 1919. *
1919. Karsten, Rafael. Mitos de los indios Jivaros. Bol. de la Soc. Ecuatoriana de Estud. Hist. Amer. Vol. II. S. 325-339. Quito 1919. [342]
1920. --, Beiträge zur Sittengeschichte der südamerikansichen Indianer. Drei Abhandlungen in Acta Academiae Aboensis. Humaniora 1: 4. Åbo 1920.
1920. --, Contributions to the Sociology of the Indian Tribes of Ecuador. Three Essays.

*[KS: sources are in the files]

28: Tessman--338-342 (No date) 1930 Jivaro-3
116, 113

I. Ideas and customs relating to Agriculture among the Jibaros and Canelos Indians of Eastern Ecuador. II. Hunting and Fishing among the Ecuatorian Indians. III. Birth Customs and Ideas of Supernatural Birth among the Ecuatorian Indians. in 'Acta Academiae Aboensis. Humaniora' I:3. Åbo 1920. •

1921. Anthony, H. E. The Jivaro Indians of Eastern Ecuador. Natural History. Vol. XXI. N. 2. S. 146-149. •

1922. Karsten, Rafael. The religion of the Jibaro Indians in 'Boletin de la Academia Nacional de Historia'. Quito 1922.

1923. --, Blood Revenge, War and Victory Feasts among the Indians of Eastern Ecuador. Smithsonian Institution. Bureau of American Ethnology. Buletin 79. Washington 1923.

1928. Brüning, Hans H. Reisen im Gebiet der Aguaruna in Baessler-Archiv. Bd. XII Berlin 1928, S. 46-85. •

• [KS: sources are in the files]

Explanation of Plate 59

Fig. 1 Signal drum, Fig. 1 a drumstick; Fig. 2 transverse flute; Fig. 3 comb; Fig. 4 double-skin drum; Fig. 5 anklet rattles; Fig. 6 iron dagger in scabbard, side view and front view; side-blown flute, seen from the side and from the front; Fig. 8 cooking pot; Fig. 9 drinking bowl; Fig. 10 eating bowl; Figs. 11 and 14 stool for women; Fig. 12 stool for men; Fig. 13 knitting pattern for a strap bag; Fig. 15 spindle; Fig. 16 end-blown bone flute.

[p. 341] Explanation of Plate 60

Fig. 1 bone needle used for manifacturing strap bags, Chiwaro; Fig. 2 skeleton frame for a Chiwaro dwelling (the semicircular projection in the rear omitted); Fig. 3 trap with pull action, Kandoschi; Fig. 4 Chiwaro bed; Fig. 5 trap with spring action, Chiwaro-Aguaruna; Fig. 6 trap with pull action used by the Kichos; Fig. 7 skeleton structure of Kichos dwelling.

Caption of Plate 61

Ssantschuma, an Aguaruna. The frame is made of the decorated shafts of four spears.

Caption of Plate 62

A kandoschi (Murato).

Caption of Plate 63

Mummified Sloth Heads, Chiwaro.

Captions of Plate 64 [346]

Tattooings
Figs. 1, 5 and 6: Agurauna men

Caption of Plate 65

Pile-building, used to look out for enemies, Chiwaro (upper left); Chiwaro-Aguaruna with spear (upper right); below: Chiwaro group.

Caption of Plate 66

Chiwaros in front of their house along the Morona River.

Color Plate VII, Caption Translation

Drinking bowl of the Chiwaros (above).
Drinking bowl of the Munitschi (center) and bowl of the Kokama (below).

Caption of Plate 68

Upper left: carrying baskets; lower left: storage basket with cover; next to it a basket to store fish and a double-skin drum; right: bag with strap; above: unfinished plaited bag; below: fur bags with straps.

116, 101, 131

"The Chiwaros are divided into several sub-tribes, three of which are important: the Chiwaro-Aguarunas, the Chiwaro-Makas, and the Chiwaro-Atschual. The fourth division, the Chiwaro-Uambisa, is smaller; it may be a tribe mixed of Aguaruna and Makas Indians.

The Aguarunas live farthest to the south, in general along the right bank of the Marañon in the large bend which this river makes when it leaves the Cordillera. My infpr-mation concerning the Chiwaros are based, if not indicated otherwise, on the Aguaruna tribe which I have studied. The Chiwaros show an inclination toward group formations. There could be mentioned, for instance, the Nantipa (or Antipa) along the left bank of the Marañon, but this is nothing but a special group which, due to continuous warlike entanglements, separated from the main group under the leadership of a chieftain (nantipa).

Along the middle course of the Santiago live the Uambisa (also Bambisa, Guambisa, Huambiza); along the upper Santiago and probably also along the Morona River there are the Chiwaro-Makas Indians, who are probably the nucleus of the tribe and the original bearers of the name Chiwaro. Along the upper Morona a part has separated from the main group, but this part does not deserve the designation of sub tribe, etc.
The Aguarunas call the Uambisas uampís or šiwá, while the Chiwaro-Makas Indians are called uákis by the Aguarunas.

116, 101, 131

The third large sub-tribe is that of the Atschual (or Achuaros, Aisuari); they live chiefly along the right bank of the middle Pastaza, especially along its tributary Huasaga. They call the Chiwaro-Makas Indians šuer and the Uambisa and Aguaruna Indians patukma."

28: Tessman--343 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 197

The Chiwaros are a rather homogeneous people; their language is extremely uniform. It is therefore not easy to investigate whether it is true that the Aguarunas are closer related to the Makas Indians with regard to character and to culture in general and that the Atschuals have a closer relation to the Makas Indians with respect to language. (This according to a settler and expert on the Atschual Indians.)

28: Tessman--343 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 161

Karsten, in his Blood Revenge, p. 1 estimates that there are 15-20,000 Chiwaros. This is too high a figure simply because Karsten has erroneously included the Kandoschis. I believe that there are at the most 10-12, 000 Chiwaros.

28: Tessman--343 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 614, 621

The Chiwaros are not subdivided into sibs proper, but many groups must be distinguished, groups that originated from war conditions and and that are named after their leaders, i. e., people of so and so. These groups have not yet had a principal influence upon the social structure of the tribe, though eventually they may have such an influence, especially if the group segregation becomes a permanent one.

28: Tessman--343 [4] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 101

The Andoas are called andóa, the Kandoshis (of whom only the Muratos were known) are called kandóas, the Ketschuas ohúna or moéxen (the latter refers to the inhabitants of the highlands); the whites are called wíakutš or apa-tše, which, according to Karsten, means "papa," though the Peruvians interpret it as "Apache" (Indian tribe) and, in a metaphoric sense, "roughneck." "conqueror."

28: Tessman--343 [5] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 142, 152

The Aguaruna man on Plate 61 is a fairly typical representative of his tribe. The soft, almost feminine features and the sweet smile are in diametrical contrast to the blood-thirsty character of the Chiwaros.

The Indian photographed--his name is Sanchuma--has perpetrated a number of murders.

28: Tessman--343 [6] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 291

Men wear a loincloth, itípa (itipi according to Ribet). It is a cotton weave with a very pleasant pattern (simple longitudinal stripes of purple color with a black border against a dirty bright-yellow background). It is sewn together of two pieces, like the sleeveless shirt of the Tschamas. The loincloth has a height of 75 cm. and a width of 136 cm. The width results from the widths of the two single pieces, each one about 68 cm. wide. There are several belts to go with it, some ordinary, others better. In most cases an ordinary belt consists of a strip of fur or simply a string made of Astrocaryum (chambira) fibers.

28: Tessman--343-344
116, 301, 291

(No date) 1930

Jivaro

The ornamental belts are often quite painstakingly made. Some of them are made out of twisted fur strips or out of a woven band (width: 4 cm.) to which are attached pearl strings with triangular pieces of shell from the Achatina snail. There is also a belt made of human hair which projects either only in one direction or in two directions. And there are [344] many other kinds of belts... such as wide ones made of fruit shells, seeds and pieces of vanilla.

28: Tessman--344
116, 177, 291

(No date) 1930

Jivaro

One may also see a poncho, that is to say, a square piece of cloth with a hole in the middle in order to pull it over the head. This piece of clothing is to be found (according to Karsten in his Blood Revenge, p. 25) among the Chiwaro-Makas Indians, where it is called awangeama. It is certain that this poncho has been imported from the Ketchua Indians.

28: Tessman--344 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 291

According to one informant, the Aguarunas pull the penis up with a string under the loin cloth.

Boys up to the age of 10 or 12 go naked.

The women are dressed with a long cloth (tarátse), which fully covers the loins and breasts. (See Plate 65, below.) In most cases it is dyed dark. Even little girls wear a small piece of cloth which later is to be replaced by the taratse.

"There are no hats, but they have a head decoration (táwas) made of fur of feathers. One of the chief skills of the men is the art of arranging feather ornaments and ornaments made of other materials. The head ornaments are the most important ones. There is a great variety of such ornaments and they serve a variety of functions, some being used for feasts others for warlike expeditions. A festive head ornament is the wide band made of yellow and red toucan feathers. These feathers are used also on other decorations. The toucan band is simply placed around the forehead and tied in the back. Most of the head ornaments are war decorations. There are headbands (or, rather, circlets) and caps which cover the entire head. There are circlets that are open at the crown of the head, a fact which, on account of the trappings, is not apparent until one analyzes the ornament. One of the circlets is especially peculiar: it consists of liana strips that are concentrically arranged but leaving space between them. They are placed around the head like the brim of a crownless hat or like a 'halo'. On the outside the circlets are decorated and therefore widened by means of feathers or seeds (for instance Chrysophyllum). I call head crowns head decorations that are placed on the head like a crown. They consist of fur strips which stay stiff by themselves; other ornaments, such as bird skins, are frequently attached. In most instances they use the fur of monkeys or the tiger cat. But the essential part of this head ornament is a broad ring (or circlet) which

is often rather crudely plaited; on the outside it is covered with strips of fur or bird skin, sometimes with actual bird wings, which follow closely the shape of the circlet or project upward at the sides. In many instances bird skins dangle from the edges. I thought that many of these head ornaments were funny-looking, [347] reminding me very much of the tastelessly trimmed up ladies' hats of a bygone fashion era... The funny impression is heightened by the feminine facial features and the feminine hairdo of the Indians. I also saw fur caps, which were nothing but skins that were pulled over the head. The head of the animal was in front; it was slightly stuffed, and the eyes of the animal were replaced with red Erythrina fruits (huairuru L.). Bird skins, too, were prepared in this manner. The trumpeter bird, for instance. In the case of other fur caps the fur had been pulled over a plaited ring or over a base plaited in hexagonal meshes. It surprized me that the natives used monkey fur almost exclusively. I noticed the use of the fur of the Pithecia (tocón L.), of the Saimiri and of the nocturnal monkey."

28: Tessman--347 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 301

'Chest ornaments are just as numerous as the head ornaments. The chest ornament is usually composed of many strands, which as a rule are stitched together at one point only, so that it can be easily pulled apart into its four components. This ornament is worn in such a fashion that the strands cross on the back, while the point where they are stitched together is placed in front. (See Plate 65, upper right.) But they also wear it the other way round. The following are the materials used for these chest decorations: fruit shells or seeds (often of Coix lacryma and of Erythrina), huairuru L., the latter frequently alternating with the shiny pieces of a yellow reed and with small feathers and very often decorated with the whole skins of the most colorful birds. They also use strands (in one instance 46 of them) of braided hair.

28: Tessman--347 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 301

The Chiwaros wear plenty of necklaces. There are necklaces of pearl interspersed with teeth, talons, feathers, seeds and mother-of-pearl pieces. They have other necklaces which consist of woven bands to which are attached by means of pearl strings half fruit-shells from which a feather emerges.

A special type of ornament are the pendants which are fastened to the breastcloth. In most cases it is a cross formed by pearl strings. At each one of the four corners there are seed-shells dangling on smaller strings of pearls. These seed-shells often rattle; often they have a fragrant aroma.

All of these ornaments are worn chiefly by the men. Only the necklaces are often worn by the women, and so are the pendants on their chestcloth.

28: Tessman--347-348 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 301

Men wear woven rings as bracelets and anklets. Married women wear a woven ring on each upper arm. The anklets are generally woven very simply and without pattern. They are left in their natural whitish color. According to Karsten (Contributions etc., p. 18) they are called patáki. They have very beautiful bracelets [348] with woven patterns and small pendants on strings of pearls or seeds. For instance, the above mentioned triangular pieces of snail shell. The natives also wear rings made of teju skin. These rings are called iwana (i. e., teju). The iwana are worn by both sexes. They have no metal rings.

The earlobes of both sexes are perforated. In the hole they wear a rather long piece of wood (Chiwaro-Makas) or a roll of grass-blades, in many cases decorated with etched patterns. In one case an Indian kept his sewing needles in the roll. Aside from sticks they wear little sticks [AN: German meaning not clear at all.] to which is attached a tuft of yellow and red turako feathers. For festive occasions they wear an ear decoration made of the wing-cases of the buprestid or of the even more beautiful ones of the Rutilide Chrysophora chrysochlora Latr. These ear ornaments are always tied to the roll in the earlobe. They consist of two or three strands of wing-cases and are decorated at the end with a tuft of yellow and red toucan feathers or of white downs. There is no nose perforation. Some women have a perforated lower lip, and through this hole is placed a very thin and short blade of grass.

28: Tessman--348 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 302, 415

On festive occasions and during war expeditions the men paint their faces with lines and dots, which gives them a truly devilish appearance. The red paint is preserved in small bamboo containers: the bamboo section is sealed off at the bottom, and a piece of fur is used as a stopper on top. They also paint with genipap. According to Reiß and Karsten the Chewaros use for bodypainting a wooden stamp (formerly a clay stamp) in which the pattern is engraved. They dip the stamp into the dye and roll it over the body.

28: Tessman--348 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 304

There are no head presses for head deformation.

28: Tessman--348 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro-.
116, 304

Aguaruna men and women make use of tattooing (síikab). Only facial tattooing, especially on the cheeks, is practised. Cf. Plate 64, Figs. 1, 5, and 6. Formerly the tattooing was done with the help of a bone of the spider-monkey.

116, 302

The teeth are stained black.

28: Tessman--348-349 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 302

The men wear their hair long. In the back it is braided into a pigtail, and there is a little pigtail at each temple. These little pigtails are called akaxik. The large pigtail is wound with a woven ribbon (called tsiimat or uakóhama). This ribbon has a length of from 33 to 85 cm., and it is patterned like the loincloth of the men. At both ends there are attached either toucan feathers and human hair or bird-skins hanging on pieces of bone that are decorated with seed-ornaments; the ribbon may also have other ornaments. The ribbon spirals around the pigtail in such a fashion that the ornaments come to lie on the back. The pigtail is often brought over the forehead. The women let their hair grow long without [349] braiding it. Soap is made out of a plant (?). Combs are made of small sticks, which are kept in place at the bottom by plaited work that is done in a pretty pattern. (See Plate 59, Fig. 3).

116, 342, 192

The house (höa) is a combination of a frame-house and a three-purlin house. It has ridge-purlins that touch the ground. At each one of the gable sides there is a semicircular projection. (See Plate 60, Fig. 2) The walls consist of upright panels of Iriartea-wood. Loopholes are frequently cut out, as may be seen on Plate 66. Very interesting is the nomenclature of the component parts of such a house. The ridge-purlin with its supports is called tšitšimeruke, the ridge-purlin itself is called tšitšimeruke-esari, while the term for the support is tšitšimeruke-axiami. The frame structure is called makui; its component parts have special designations: the longitudinal beam of the frame is called makui-esari, the cross-beam: makui-pauri or makui-yangeri; the upright supports are called makui-axiami. The side-purlin and its supports are called numbixi, the side-purlin itself: numbixi-esari and the supports: numbixi-axiami. The semicircular projections are called texeri, its roundliana: itingamori and its uprights: tšikitsik. The rafters of the saddle-roof are called awangeri, the three main spars of the semicircular extension: akuxkamori, the secondary rafters: texeri awangeri, the crossbeam to which the secondary rafters are tied on the top: anuxtukmori.

In each one of the semicircular extensions there is a door: wáitiri. Newly introduced are ridge-purlin supports, tixeraseri (from the Spanish tijeras), that rest in pairs on the frame. Their lower end is sharpened to a point, which is inserted into the

cross-beam close to the frame-supports, so that only two pairs of such ridge-purlin supports are required. Frequently they are used in addition to the ground-supported ridge-purlin uprights. There are no other cross-beams.

Refuge huts are called aäk. They consist of two cross-beams, one being higher than the other. The spars are placed across the longitudinal beams. See cartogram no. 8.

The information given about the höa was gathered from the Atschual Indians. If I remember it correctly, the houses of the Aguarunas were of like construction. In the Aguaruna territory I saw the most primitive huts erected on sandbars as an overnight accomodation. They slept on a layer of leaves. Where they had their heads, they had several of the fan-shaped leaves of the Carludovica palmata or a palm-frond. Cf. cartogram no. 8.

28: Tessman--349-350
116, 352, 513

(No date) 1930

Jivaro

The bed (píaka) of the Chiwaros is a plank bed on four legs, as shown on Plate 60, Fig. 4. The beds are placed with their longitudinal sides along the wall. A bed consists of pieces of Iriartea-wood that are placed cross-wise. The bed has a long but narrow surface. The side toward the wall (where the sleepers have their heads) is raised considerably so that the bed slopes down to the front. [350] In front of the bed are two forked posts. One prong of the fork is higher than the other. When they go to bed, the Chiwaros place the head toward the wall and the feet over the crossbeam that connects the two forked posts. The edge of the bed is under the knees. Cf. cartogram no. 9. Between the foot-support and the bed there are small fires burning which keep their legs warm. Young unmarried people have special beds which are covered with a plaited mat. Sucking infants sleep in a hammock (tangáma) made of Ficus fiber. Occasionally they are attached to one of the prongs of the foot rest uprights and extended to the prong of another such upright.

28: Tessman--350 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 352, 562

Stools, tšimpúi, of the shape shown on Plate 59, Fig. 12 are chiefly used by men; the stools for women are lower. The various shapes of women's stools are shown on Plate 59, Figs. 11 and 14.

28: Tessman--350 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 354

The fireplaces may be anywhere in the house, but not in front of the doors.

28: Tessman--350 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 412, 287

The fire-fan (awáxin) is made of the feathers of the curassow bird; the quills are connected with two sticks (of the type shown on Plate 76, Fig. 13). Rivet (L'Anthropologie, XVIII, p. 589) reproduces a fire-fan which is extremely beautiful: a handle is plaited to the simple fan. There are no plaited fire-fans.

The broom (matéi) is made of the ribs of the pinnate leaves of Astrocaryum (aff.) vulgare (chambira L.). But there are also brooms made of the leafy stems of a grass with broad blades.

28: Tessman--350 [4] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 501, 177

'Canoe (See Glossary) and paddle: kaneitio, according to Karsten from the Spanish canalete (i. e., Indian paddle). Judging from the Spanish name, they must have been imported."

28: Tessman--350 [5] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 231, 262

Dogs are used for hunting. They keep chickens to eat their meat and eggs. Pork (pigs: kutsi) is eaten by both sexes. In the atšuim region, along the upper Cenipa, a very secluded part of the Aguarunas is said to have very large pigs.

28: Tessman--350 [6] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 222, 262

Palm-cabbage is eaten, and so are the fruits of Oenocarpus bataua (ungúki), of Mauritia flexuosa (átaō), and of Euterpe (sahō). The larvae of palmer-worms (mūndí) and a certain ant (uéa) are eaten. The Indians eat honey, too.

28: Tessman--350-351 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 226

Fishing is just as important as hunting. They stupefy the fish with the poison of a wild leguminous plant (barbasco), called tímu by the Aguarunas and tímiŏ by the Atschual Indians. Another fish-poison is Clibadium (Aguaruna: máso, Atschual: măsgŏ). They also have a weir (Aguaruna: waŝim, Atschual: wăsimp). The fish-hook is called sau. According to Karsten (Contributions, p. 53) it was formerly made of bone. Fish-nets (lika), according to Karsten, are several meters long. At the bottom they are weighed down with stones, on top [351] they are equipped with pieces of Ochroma-wood. They are primarily used to fence off watercourses, but also as casting nets. and even, when held by three men, as hand-nets. Before fish are stupefied the watercourses are obstructed with an angular fence, on top of which there is a seating platform. (See Karsten, Contributions, p. 56). From this platform the stupefied fish are caught. According to my information fish are also speared with a spear-point made of palm-wood.

28: Tessman--351 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 411, 224

Karsten (in his Contributions, pp. 36 ff.) reports on the hunting customs. My own information is the following: The blowgun (Aguaruna: úme, Atschual: úombi) is wound with liana fiber and has no resin coating. The small sight is made of resin. The mouthpiece is a piece of tubular bone of the white-bearded peccary. They clean their blowguns with a liana which has a cotton tuft in the middle. The small arrows (tsínsak) have points that are smeared with poison (tsías); the Atschual Indians buy the latter from the whites. We gather from Karsten's reports (in Beiträge etc., pp. 1 ff.) that only a few Chiwaros have the knowhow for preparing this poison. There are many prescriptions in connection with the preparation of this poison. According to my information, the quivers are made of bamboo. They call the quiver hinduk. The little arrows are reproduced by Rivet in L'Anthropologie, XVIII, p. 366. The bamboo-quivers have a tree-calabash at the bottom; the Chiwaro-Makas Indians have such a calabash also on top.

28: Tessman--351 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 224

They have a trap with pull-action (weiši) for birds, and a spring-trap (tšina) for small mammals. See Plate 60, Fig. 5. They manufacture a large spring-trap in which jaguars are killed. They have well-camouflaged pitfalls with palm-wood points inside. According to Karsten the Chiwaro-Makas Indians call the spring-trap timbya, while the pull-action trap is called kuáka.

28: Tessman--351 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 241

Banana--maxętši. They have only the non-poisonous type of manihot (see Glossary). White yam is called kŏngĕ by the Aguarunas and kingii by the Atschual Indians. Pale violet yam is kaímpi. Groundnut: njósi. Makabo =sangu (according to Karsten). Sweet potatoes: íntsi. Pumpkin: yui (according to Karsten). Guilelma-palm: uí.

116, 412.

They used to have stone axes (kanámp), but I have not seen any.

28: Tessman--351 [5] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 241

Holes are made and bulbs are harvested with the dibble: wēi (shingi according to Karsten.)

28: Tessman--351 [6] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 241, 462

Karsten is our authority (in his Contributions, pp.1 ff.) for the following information: Indian corn, Plantain, and Guilelma palms are planted by the men; the other useful plants by the women. This division of labor is related to the Chiwaro belief that Indian corn, Plante, and Guilelma have masculine souls, while the other useful plants are endowed with feminine souls. About the Nüngi, i.e., the good demon of the earth, see Part III. Useful plants are planted in a ceremonial manner, and in this connection they use a great deal of fertility magic. According to Karsten (Contributions, p. 5) the Chiwaros also plant beans (mika).

28: Tessman--352
116, 263

(No date) 1930

Jivaro

Sugar cane is called pagáta in Aguaruna and paăto in Atschual language. The juice is extracted by chewing. They swallow the juice, or spit it out, or mix it with massato. But this mixing is done rather rarely. There is no alcoholic sugarcane beverage.

28: Tessman--352 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 273

Massato (nixamántsi) is obtained from manihot with the chewed sweet potato acting as fermenting agent. They drink it only infrequently. They may also add the juice of sugar-cane. Aside from manihot massato they have, according to Karsten (Beiträge, etc., p. 36) a manihot wine (sanucha shiki), which is made of toasted manihot.

28: Tessman--352 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 276, 177

Tobacco (sángo) is taken in the form of juice: they let the leaves soak in water, and then drink the water or sip it through the nose. According to Karsten they have special earthenware glasses for this purpose.

In his Beiträge etc., pp. 56 ff. Karsten deals at great length with the tobacco and the ideas and customs connected with it. The original magic significance of tobacco is still apparent. As a pure stimulant tobacco is a new acquisition of the Chiwaros, which is proved by the fact that for this purpose the Indians use imported tobacco only. The men take the tobacco juice through the mouth or through the nose, the women through the mouth only. The Indians also smoke large cigars, which are placed in a bamboo holder. At a certain festival, when the boys reach the stage of manhood, smoke is blown into the mouths of the novices. This is, according to Karsten, the significance of the tobacco for the Chiwaros: 1) it is a panacea for all diseases, and 2) it is a means to increase the magic power; thirdly, it is an actual narcoticum which produces dreams.

There does not seem to be any coca, and Karsten does not talk about it either.

28: Tessman--352-353 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 276, 787, 757

Karsten deals at great length with the kaapí beverage in his Beiträge, etc., p. 39. He makes the following statements: kaapí is used not only by the sorcerers, but men and women take it as a stimulant. For the latter usage the beverage is prepared in a slightly different manner. In connection with major feasts kaapí is used as a stimulant, but there is always this magic meaning underneath that the natives hope in their state of intoxication to establish contact with the evil demons (souls) and thereby be enabled to foresee the future. Kaapí drinking is said to have a generally salutary effect "as it prevents people from dying off like flies."

In addition to the kaapí the natives drink a beverage obtained from the Datura arborea (maikoa). Maikoa is also used as a liquid to be injected into the rectum. Karsten (Beiträge etc., pp. 48 ff.) calls the Datura beverage the special beverage for warriors. [353] Here again, the drink has magic implications, which lie in the same direction as the kaapí. The Datura drink is also used as a means of education.

28: Tessman--353
116, 276, 757, 463

(No date) 1930

Jivaro

Guayusa is widely used. Karsten (Beiträge etc., pp. 77 ff.) gives a detailed account of the concepts and customs that are connected with Guayusa drinking. Guayusa has the least magic qualities, but it has all the more medical ones. It is a purgative, prepared by the men only, but used by men and women alike. The Chiwaros believe that it makes the body in general strong and fit.

28: Tessman--353 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 263, 252

There are two kinds of salt. One is called wuṍi by the Atschual Indians and wṍi by the- by the Aguarunas; it is obtained from a salt lake on the Nieva. The other salt (kátsi) is obtained from salt rocks which are found along the Apaga. Salt is not mixed into the food during eating; rather they make paste by mixing salt, Capsicum pepper (híma in Aguaruna, himíg in the Atschual language) and atsámpi and eat the paste while they eat their food.

28: Tessman--353 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 252, 412

To grind the Indian corn they use a stone chopping knife (like 'M.O.G.", p. 166, Fig. 14) on a wooden board. They do not prepare any manihot flakes. They have tubular vessels with pestles.

28: Tessman--353 [4] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 415

They serve their food on bowl-like plates.

28: Tessman--353 [5] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 415

Intoxicating beverages are drunk out of earthernware bowls (pininga). See Plate 59, Figs. 9 and 10. They fetch their water in calabashes which have a hole cut in the smaller part. They store the water in similar calabashes from which the stem-end has been cut off.

28: Tessman--353 [6] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 262, 825

The one-year old buck is killed because it damages the manihot fields; but its meat is eaten only by a few old men. This is the reason for its unpopularity: since it has only two horns, this is taken as an indication that a sorcerer (túntǎj) is hidden inside. Only rarely do they eat tapir, since they assume that it is related to the one-year old buck.

28: Tessman--353 [7] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 372

They make fire by rubbing two sticks, both of which are taken either from the liana (kangum) or the bixa. They do not use flints. Farabee tells a Chiwaro-legend concerning the origin of fire. Sr. F.T. Munia (probably should read: Muñoa) told him the story.

28: Tessman--353 [8] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 283, 462

The men make the strings out of the fiber of Astrocaryum (chambira). Out of these strings the men knit bags with various techniques, but always with a bent bone-needle (see Plate 60, Fig. 1), the thicker end of which is perforated and threaded with the end of the string. An unfinished bag is shown upper right on Plate 68, a specimen for their knitting is shown on Plate 59, Fig 13. Furbags are shown at the lower right on Plate 68.

28:Tessman--353-354 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 286, 462

Only men do the spinning. The spindle of the Aguarunas is shown on Plate 59, Fig. 15. According to Rivet (L'Anthropologie XVIII, p. 366) they use a long spindle. The whorl [354] consists of stone-nut (?) and it is set up from below. Only men do the weaving, and they even weave the cloth for the women. The loom touches the ground and is in a vertical position.

28: Tessman--354 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 285, 462

Plaited mats (tšintšak-piaki) are made for the beds of the adolescents. The men plait the baskets, which, as a rule, are made in hexagonal meshes. They have carrying baskets (like the two shown upper left on Plate 68) and storage baskets which are more finely made and lined with leaves. Such a basket with cover is shown lower left on Plate 68. There are also smaller baskets of this kind. For the cruder baskets they use material coming from the Carludovica palmata (tšankin), for the finer baskets the material comes from the Carludovica trigona (kapi). A funnel-shaped basket done in a different technique is shown lower left on Plate 68. In this one they keep fish and carry them home.

They produce cooking pots (itsinek) with a wide opening (Plate 59, Fig. 8) and pots with a narrower opening for the cooking of massato. The latter ones are called muetsa. Moreover, they have earthenware bowls (pininga) for intoxicating beverages. These pininga usually have the same coloring inside and outside. Their best and most original earthenware product is a bowl-like plate. They are red on the outside, covered with a paste of bixa (ipaku) and the juice of Apocynacee Couma guianensis, lechecaspi L. (naúm). Inside they are decorated with simple patterns (concentric circles, curves, and lines), and they are glazed yellow or green. No other tribe in Eastern Peru makes anything comparable to these plates (see color Plate VII, top). The resin which they use for this is called nétaka. They also have bowls with a double bottom with rattling fruit-shells inside.

28: Tessman--354-355 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 181, 721

One might be tempted to call the war the true religion of the Chiwaros...One is all the more inclined to say this, since warlike acts are in most cases acts of revenge for enchantments so that these warlike expeditions constitute religious acts of revenge against evil sorcerers. But whatever excuses and reasons one may discover, the fact remains that murderous thoughts have become a standard principle of the Chiwaro way of life. For example, one of the Aguarunas whom I had with me in the headquarter of the expedition said to me that "his heart was disquieted because he did not know whom he could kill now."

The Chiwaros live in a permanent state of war against parts of their own tribe, that is to say, Aguaruna is fighting against Aguaruna. And parts of the subtribes fight against other subtribes (for instance, the Aguarunas against the Uambisas). Of course, they also fight against other tribes and also against the whites. The Spaniards were rather badly beaten by the Chiwaros, who were never [355] completely subjected by the whites. The Chiwaros destroyed and ransacked whole settlements (like Borja), killed the men and abducted the women, etc. Later, they made raids on Peruvian outposts and killed a large part of the garrison. Today the Peruvian government, as centruies ago the Spaniards, does not dare to punish the most war-like of all the east-Peruvian Indians so that conditions along the Santiago today are just as insecure as they had been at the time of the Spanish colonization.

28: Tessman--355 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 411, 531

The spear (Aguaruna; nánki, Atschual: nángi) is their main weapon of war. It has an iron point, which is as a rule imported from Ecuador. Formerly they may have had a wooden point (palm-wood). The shaft (at least the Makas shaft) is a fine piece of craftsmanship (see Plate 61). I am inclined to regard these shafts of a brightly shining brownish-red and decorated with carved patterns the best artistic accomplishment of the Chiwaros. Next highest I rate the execution of the inside of their bowl-plates, and third in line of artistic achievement are the feathered circlets and the other body ornaments. There are also spears made of one piece of wood (see Plate 65, upper right).

In his book Blood Revenge etc. Karsten gives a description of war and war methods. Karsten tells us that the Chiwaros used to have spears with bone-points. The bone was later replaced by iron.

They do not have slings for the hurling of arrows. No slings at all. No clubs. A long time ago they started to import a dagger with short haft and a long, wide iron blade. (See Plate 59, Fig. 6) The dagger is worn in a scabbard on a belt. Two hollowed-out pieces of wood form the scabbard.

The Aguarunas, Uambisas and Makas Indians have a round shield (tandara, according to Karsten, see his Blood Revenge, Plate 4, right). It is not decorated with feathers. The wood is neither polished nor decorated. It gives the impression three disks were placed one on top of the other, the one in the middle being the smallest.

They have fortress-like structures (kumbinta according to Karsten) which look like towers (see my photograph on Plate 65. Pitfalls (tsi) with palm-wood points at the bottom are placed close to the paths. They have spearing traps (tanibunchi, Karsten) against enemies, very much like the spearing traps of the Saimaku (see p. 495 and Illustration 11 on Plate 88). Illustration in Karsten, Blood Revenge etc., Plate 2.

28: Tessman--355-356 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 727

Much has been written about their war trophies, the mummified human heads. See Category 727. The most complete and the most reliable information on this subject is in Karsten in his Blood Revenge, where he also discusses [356] the preparation of these heads and the ceremonies connected with them. The Chiwaros have also heads of sloths which are preserved in a similar manner. See Plate 63.

28: Tessman--356 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 202, 534

They have a wooden signal drum (tundui). See Plate 59, Fig 1. It is a very functional instrument, sounding signals of warning and distress for a people that thrives on raids, war and murders. The drumstick is reproduced on Plate 59, Fig. 1a.

On festive occasions they use as musical instrument a double-skin drum (tambún), which has a short or an oblong shape, as shown on Plate 68 and on Plate 59, Fig. 4, respectively. They beat the drum with a bone or, though less frequently, with a piece of wood. The drumstick is attached to the drum by means of a string. During their dance festivals the Chiwaros wear rattles around their legs. They consist of plaited fiber strands; in short intervals thinner strings are braided into the fiber strands. The thin strings project with both ends to which the halves of fruit-shells are attached with knots. These shells rattle when they collide. See Plate 59, Fig. 5.

28: Tessman--356 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 534

The musical bow (tomáigu) is kept in front of the mouth like a transverse flute; it is held at the end of the bow so that the string is turned away from the mouth. It is struck with a plectrum. According to Karsten the Makas Indians pluck the string with the fingers. The transverse flute (pinkui, Plate 59, Fig. 2) has two fingers holes at the end; it is blown with the nose or with the mouth. Another side-blown flute with four finger holes and a lump of wax "to prevent the hand from slipping" is shown on Plate 59, Fig. 7. An end-blown bone flute with two finger holes is shown on Plate 59, Fig. 16. A badly crafted reed-pipe with four thin tubes must be regarded a toy rather than a musical instrument. A guitar of very poor workmanship and having only two strings has probably been imported; I received several such specimens from the Santiago region.

28: Tessman--356 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 524

They have no tops, no whizzing disks, no ball games. Rope games are called uámbiŭ. As a doll they use an oblong calabash. They do not have any wooden or clay-made dolls in human shape.

28: Tessman--356 [4] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 526, 578

According to Karsten wrestling is one of the program points of a victory celebration. According to my own information wrestling is a way of deciding an argument between two Aguaruna men. The two antagonists grab each other with folded hands behind the head, and each one tires to throw the other to the ground. Whoever succeeds in this is the victor, and this settles the dispute.

28: Tessman--356 [5] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 776

They have no god. Karsten, too, says in The Religion etc., p. 125 that they know of no supreme being or creator. The earth-mother Nungüi can hardly be designated as a goddess: she is judging from Karsten's statements, a demon that has been singled out of the row of the other demons.

28: Tessman--356-357 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 775, 756

The soul is called wakanĺ. At the moment of death the soul leaves the body and goes to heaven, where it leads a better life (has plenty to eat, etc.) in the company of other souls. [357]

The souls of sorcerers enter animals, plants or some natural object, thereby becoming demons. This is at least the belief of the Makas Indians. According to Karsten (The Religion etc., p. 125) this is also believed of the souls of enemies that have been killed, evidently to the extent to which these enemies had been regarded as sorcerers. The souls are then called iguanchi, but at the same time still being regarded as wakanĺ. From Karsten's treatise I was not able to learn to what extent the thought prevails that the spirits in question are the souls of deceased sorcerers and to what extent these spirits have already a truly demoniac character: demons are always undetermined spirits, perhaps the souls of deceased persons. Wakani, according to Karsten, also means "shadow, image" and finally "higher being."

28: Tessman--357 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 753

Magic is believed to be responsible for death caused by undetermined inner diseases and for death as a result of old age. All other deaths, deaths through drowning, snakebite, wild animals, and accidents are regarded either as magic or as natural. According to Karsten (The Religion, etc., p. 310) the Makas Indians distinguish between sicknesses caused by magic and straight sicknesses (sungura). Karsten is not too clear on this point. On page 309 he states that there is no natural death, on page 310 he says there is, though only in isolated cases, a normal death caused by old age in addition to the magic death. It seems to me that the Makas Indians attributed magic qualities to such deaths as were caused by unknown inner diseases (this included blood-poisoning).

28: Tessman--357 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 562, 756, 789

In the Aguaruna tribe only men can act as sorcerers. Their magic is monistic. The sorcerer is called ananténtso or tuntsi. They do not believe in a separation of a being from its body. They have only one kind of sorcerer: the sorcerer who kills has at the same time healing faculties.

According to Karsten (The Religion, pp. 319 ff.), in the Chiwaro-Makas tribe an old sorcerer supervises the novice, putting in his mouth the spines of the Guilelma palm mixed with some saliva. It seems, however, that the novice receives the actual magic substance from the demon. This demon, in the shape of a giant snake or in the shape of some other serpentiform monster, appears before the entranced novice. The sorcerer must eat certain animals; others he must avoid--all this on account of certain analogous properties. The demon is said to hand the magic spines to the newly initiated. The derivation of the magic properties of a sorcerer is not quite clear to me. The leading sorcerer is remunerated for his services.

28: Tessman--357-358 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 756, 276, 784

The Aguarunas told me that an apprentice sorcerer will learn the art of magic without the help of a master. He is forced to keep a strict diet. He is not even allowed to eat much manihot. He lives in isolation in a forest hut. His main fare is a decoction [358] of the leaves of the Datura arborea (maikoa) and, later, Nasapi[natéma, according to Karsten) and tobacco. At night he sees the apparition of a ghost, who looks like a white man and who hands him the magic substance and the strings.

The sorcerer must go in person into the house of the victim. He comes in daytime as a visitor, behaves in a friendly manner towards the people and even sleeps in their house. At night, he rises stealthily, as if he intended to urinate, and dispatches a spine with some magic substance to his sleeping victim. The spine (tsintsake) is made out of the wood of the Guililma palm. It makes no difference whether the victim is a sorcerer or a non-sorcercer: the victim can be killed, provided he is asleep. If the victim dies, the spines return to their owner.

28: Tessman--358 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 755

The healing sorcerer, in a cloud of tobacco fumes, sucks the spine out, chews it up and throws it away so that the spine may not return to its owner. The healing sorcerer does not use this spine for magic purposes, since every sorcerer has his own brand of spines.

28: Tessman--358 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 756, 789

What Karsten (The Religion, etc. pp. 318 ff.) has to say concerning the magic of the Chiwaro-Makas Indians is very interesting and very important. Preparations are necessary for this magic. Aside from the personal monistic magic, which I have described there is also a transmission of magic through animals. In this case, the sorcerer has handed over the spine to a certain animal, or as Karsten put it, "the sorcerer has allowed his soul to enter the animal." The expression "soul" evidently refers to the magic substance, part of which was perhaps given to the animal. Other forms of magic are: to shoot the spines (rays) out of the eyes at any time, even in daytime. (Originally, the evil eye idea!) Another form: to put the spines into the food and drink of the victim; to hang the spines in bundles somewhere in the proximity of the enemy, so that the latter would accidentally come in contact with them. Certain preventives are in use. Against the evil eye, for instance, they grind up a medicinal plant and smear it on to the body with Bixa red. Preventive measures are also taken with regard to certain places where spines may easily have been planted. For instance, the roof of old forest huts may be removed and replaced with a new one, so that the spines that may have been hidden in the old palm leaves have no chance to drop down on the sleeping person.

Demons are also able to carry out acts of magic by sending off spines.

Sorcerers, while still living, have the power to transform themselves into jaguars in order to approach other people with magic.

28: Teesman--358-359 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 755

Excellent material concerning the healing practices is once more given by Karsten (The Religion, etc. pp. 323 ff.). The treatments are administered in the darkness, after the sorcerer has prepared himself by fasting, the drinking of tobacco juice and of kaapi. [359] The sorcerer has put on black body paint. He conjures up the spirits that could have sent off the spines. He does much rattling with a bundle of certain leaves. He returns to the owner the spine which he has sucked out. The spine may also appear in the shape of a worm, etc. It is the task of the healing sorcerer to find out who the attacker is. In a state of trance he "sees" the attacker. He gives the name of the presumed attacker to the family of the patient. If the patient dies, and should additional victims perish, that is to say, in serious cases, blood revenge is the consequence.

28: Tessman--359 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 796

Karsten has pointed out on several occasions that all the Chiwaro festivals have a religious connotation. However, religion enters only to the extent that the natives wish for great fertility, the acquisition of earthly goods, and a long life. Karsten has given us descriptions of the various festivals in a number of publications. The kusúpani festival takes place when the adolescents are promoted to the rank of manhood. They hope to make the young man strong and belligerent. The so called "little tobacco festival" is given for young girls after they had had their first menstruation. The "great tobacco festival" (noa tsangu) is prepared for women; its purpose is to make the women fit and strong for their duties and work. The greatest festival is the festival of the head-trophy (tsantsa). A detailed description of it may be found in Karsten's Blood Revenge. There are no secret rites or ceremonies in an ethico-religious sense. They simply want to obtain the help of spirits, which means, personal advantages especially in their dealings with enemies. During the Guilelma fruit festival, which takes place in March-April, they wish to increase the fertility of nature. Rivet (L'Anthropologie, XIX, p. 79) gives reproductions that show how the lips of the mummified heads are tied.

28: Tessman--359 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 727, 825

Aside from human tsantsa there are also the mummified heads of sloths. See Plate 63. Karsten (Blood Revenge, p. 33) explains this custom by assuming that at a time when all humans were animals, the sloths had been the enemies of the Chiwaros. Rivet, however, points out (loc. cit., p. 86) that the mummified heads of the sloths are substitutes for human heads if the latter are unobtainable. Farabee, finally, assumes that the sloth-head gives the children a chance to practice. Karsten received his explanation from the Chiwaros, and it must be taken with a grain of salt, since the sloth is a very innocent creature that does not harm other animals. I incline to the belief that, while certain practical considerations may play a part, the sloth must have a certain significance in the Chiwaro religion.

28: Tessman--359 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 796

There are no other cultic rites. No masks. No secret cults. No sacred trumpets.

28: Tessman--359 [4]
116, 304

(No date) 1930

Jivaro

Circumcision is not practised.

28: Tessman--360
116, 841

(No date) 1930

Jivaro

The Chiwaros have no menstruation customs.

28: Tessman--360 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 776

The Chiwaro belief in demons is very pronounced. The demons form the center of their entire religious structure. The demons are called iwandji. According to Karsten (The Religion etc., pp. 126 ff.), all demons seem to have been the souls of evil sorcerers. The greatest demon appears in the shape of an ape, a bear or a doe, and it kills human beings. The Aguarunas told me that this demon was not dangerous but only a prankster. He lives in the forest. Sometimes he beats up adults when they are drunk, but he never kills them. Moreover, he abducts children and tries to lure them into the forest. When children are heard crying, the signal drum is beaten, whereupon the demon lets the child go.

28: Tessman--360 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 775, 787

The Chiwaros are filled with all sorts of undigested superstitious beliefs. They have many religious particles, which they presumably receive from the high cultures of the Andes, but they have not been able to incorporate these scraps into the framework of their own religion. One such particle, for instance, is the belief that a chieftain is going to die when the sun goes down red.

They also believe that the Chiwaros formerly had been animals, the Aguarunas, for instance, crested orioles. See Karsten, La lengua de los Indios, p. 54. The same source also for folk-tales.

28: Tessman--360 [4] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 756

The medical practitioner is called wuišínõ (Atschual); he is always a sorcerer.

28: Tessman--360 [5] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 778

Karsten (The Religion etc. pp. 142 ff.) talks about the medicines. One such medicine is the mummified human head (tsantsa); other medicines are shiny stones, the brown stone of the Earth Mother Nungüi, stones and lumps of hair out of the stomachs of animals (hunting medicine), seeds, etc., which are worn as pendants, jaguar teeth for warriors and, finally, the red and black body paint.

28: Tessman--360 [6] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 757

The most important Chiwaro medicine is the rinsing of the bowels with a purgative. They begin with this at the age of boyhood to prevent sicknesses and to make the body strong. Purgatives guarantee longevity; in Loreto they are know as lavativas. They drink, for instance, a solution fo salt in warm water, and add the juice of sugar cane. Capsicum pepper is also regarded as a medicine in case of indigestion. Guayusa is another purgative. To tobacco they ascribe likewise healing powers. Tobacco is used after one has dreamt of a friend: they chew the leaves and spit them into the eyes of the friend. According to Karsten, the Chiwaros are very fond of enemas.

28: Tessman--360 [7] (No date) 1930 Jivaro

116, 624

The chieftain is called kuhaku. In the case of disputes within the group he has no executive, but only advisory powers. He has no greater number of wives than any other respected member of the community.

According to Karsten (Blood Revenge etc., pp. 7 ff.) the Chiwaro Makas Indians do not have any chieftains; they elect war leaders (unta) in the case of war.

28: Tessman--361
116, 361

(No date) 1930

Jivaro

The single house is the typical form of Chiwaro settlement.

28: Tessman--361 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 768, 587

The estate is not destroyed, but passed on to the heirs. The estate is rather evenly distributed among the sons and brothers of the father, and other relatives may get something, too, if they wish. Even the wife is passed on as part of the estate: she goes to the older brother of her deceased husband, and she lives with him as early as one to two weeks after her husband's death.

28: Tessman--361 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 682

Murderous acts and cases of homicide occur within the smallest circles. Occasionally, a husband kills, when he catches his wife's seducer in flagranti, To escape punishment, a murderer always flees; but after a long period of time he is allowed to return and has to pay. This settles the affair.

28: Tessman--361 [4] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 685

Men are rarely, women somewhat more frequently involved in thefts (in the fields!) Abuse is heaped upon the culprit, who must return the stolen goods, if she still has them. No other reparation is demanded. Lost objects, when found, are returned, and a reward is not customary.

28: Tessman--361 [6] (No date) 1930 Jivaro

116, 838

Onanism is said to occur, but there are no homosexual activities between male adolescents. One settler assumed that this was due to the strong laxatives (purgas) which the youngsters have to take when they are only twelve or thirteen years old, and which make them actually sick for a number of months. While there are no homosexuals with masculine tendencies there are some cases of extreme effeminacy. My informant knew of two such instances. One of them wears woman's clothing and is said to live along the Cahuapanas, another along the Nieva. The latter wears man's clothing, to be sure, but he likes to do all the work (making of pottery, preparing of Massato, etc.) that is generally done by the women. He asked one member of our expedition to address him with a woman's name and not with his masculine name. He lives with a settler and prostitutes himself as the passive partner to the settler's workers. He pays his lovers. He does not practise any active sexual intercourse.

28: Tessman--361 [7] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 836

There are unrestrained sexual relations prior to marriage.

28: Tessman--361-362 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 584, 833, 595

Women are married off while they are still children, sometimes at the age of four, often before they are born, sometimes, however, at a later date. If the wife is still a child, then she will be brought up by her [362] husband, who will widen her vulva with the finger until at the age of twelve she is ready for coitus.

A Chiwaro has from one to four wives.

28: Tessman--362 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 584, 762

A woman is never asked whether she wants to marry a man or not; in most instances she is much too young anyway. The future husband, who has selected her, arranges the thing with the father or the brother of the girl. This explains why women hang themselves when they are forced to live with a man who may treat them badly or for whom they do not care. If the girl's family agrees to the marriage, the son-in-law-to-be goes on a one-week hunting expedition and collects game, which he turns over to his parents-in-law. The latter prepare a great feast, and the bride is handed over. The husband has no other obligations. Older girls who are not yet married are never virgins, and virginity is not expected anyway.

28: Tessman--362 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 684

Adultery is regarded as a serious crime. A husband is allowed to kill the adulterer if he catches him in the act. If the adultery is revealed at a later date, the scalps of the woman and her paramour are scratched with spines until blood is flowing all over their faces.

28: Tessman--362 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 587

According to Karsten (Contributions etc. pp. 75 ff.) the brother of the deceased marries the widow; only if there is no brother, the widow has a free choece with regard to her second marriage.

28: Tessman--362 [4] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 844

As a rule, childbirth takes place in the bush, where two uprights with a crosspiece are erected, to which the woman clings with her hands. Other women support her. The umbilical cord is cut with a knife of reed-bark and formally buried with the placenta in a ditch covered with sticks, etc. The men, especially the child's father, are waiting in the proximity of the houses, and after the birth is completed, they rush into the bush to see the child and to give it a name. Now the mother goes home with the child to lie down on her bed, which is shielded by a wall of leaves. She turns her back against the fire, since this is supposed to speed up her recovery.

28: Tessman--362 [5] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 846

Immediately after the birth the father cuts a Euterpe palm in order to take out the palm cabbage, which is given to the mother in the form of soup "so that her milk may flow plentifully." Both parents, but especially the mother, must avoid certain food stuffs that might be harmful to the baby. Neither father nor mother are allowed to step upon the tracks of jaguars or tapirs; no snakes should be killed; and more such precautions must be taken. There is no lying-in for men. According to Karsten (Contributions etc., pp. 64 ff.) the father is not allowed to go hunting or to cut down a bush; he is not permitted to kill a snake, and there are other things he is not allowed to do--for a period of from two to three years.

28: Tessman--363 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 846

In his Contributions Karsten reports on the various customs connected with birth, for instance, and this is interesting, that newly-born babies are brought into the house through the roof; inside they are received by an elderly man. Then follows a dance. This is chiefly the case with the Atschual Indians.

28: Tessman--363 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 845

Deformed babies are regarded as children by demons: they are buried alive.

Twins occur, and they are desirable since they help to increase the population more rapidly. There do not seem to be any special names for twins. Triplets are unknown.

28: Tessman--363 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 847

There is abortion in cases where the parents are too lazy to bring up a child. No abortion is prompted by the fact that the child stems from a father whom the mother does not love. As abortifacient they use the fruit of the Lecythidacee Grias grandifolia Pilger (sacha-mangue L.), called apéi. The fruit is cut and thrown into water, the whole is drunk. They also use the leaves of the Verbena (yapáo) for the same purpose.

28: Tessman--363 [4] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 552

Names refer to animals (for instance, intšamo, i. e., bat), to mountains, to the sun; only a few names are said to refer to plants.

28: Tessman--363 [5] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 764

The burial of older and more respected persons (like family fathers) takes place in the house, from which the other inhabitants then move out. All other persons, with the exception of small children, are buried in the bush near the houses. All people receive a burial by interment. The corpse is clad with the loincloth, provided the cloth is not new; if it is new, an old one is substituted. The corpse, in a stretched-out position, is wrapped in Ficus fiber and tied like a bundle. It is, face up, placed upon Iriartea plates in the grave. It seems that this mode of burial is not customary everywhere, perhaps only on Agurauna territory, for my informants told me that other Indians place the corpse upon a plank bed in a special hut in the bush (like the Muratos do). Infant children are likewise wrapped in Ficus fiber, but buried in a big pot, which is buried in a corner of the house.

Karsten tells us (in his The Religion etc., pp. 142 ff.) that food and intoxicating drinks are placed (probably only once) upon the grave of a family father.

After approximately six months, or whenever one assumes that the flesh has disintegrated, the corpse is exhumed; the bones and the skull are cleaned and placed into a pot, which is kept on a bench in the house. The exhumation takes place in the case of infants and adults, of non-sorcerers and sorcerers.

28: Tessman--363-364 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 153, 177

The character of the Chiwaros differs somewhat from that of the average Indian, but it is by no means better. Certain good character traits may be present, such as a good perceptive faculty or a greater vivacity and industriousness. But these good character traits are overshadowed by the [364] overwhelming bloodthirstyness, trickery, and deceitfulness of these Indians. By means of a prolonged severe education it might be possible to raise the level of these Indians, perhaps to a level above the other Indians, but I doubt that this will happen, since this education cannot become effective until all Chiwaros, through causes of a different nature, have become the victims of steadily advancing civilization. At the moment, however, one cannot even think that this bloodthirsty group will ever be tamed, since neither the Peruvian nor the Ecuadorian governments show the slightest inclination to carry out energetic measures against the Chiwaros. A strict military supervision over a period of several decades would be the basis for it; to this should be added a friendly, just, and absolutely social regulation of the barter commerce, so that all exploitation will be ruled out. But this is asking for too much in South America! The whole situation is aggrevated by the fact that the borderline between Ecuador and Peru has not yet been established, and the Indians are therefore between two hostile camps. Rivet mentions the Indian treacherousness, and he says that the missionaries have been unsuccessful. The Chiwaros let themselves be baptized several times in order to gain material advantages.

Karsten (Blood Revenge etc., p. 8) calls the Chiwaros impulsive and choleric.

28: Tessman--364 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 124

I was accompanied by several Aguarunas and by one Atschual. Unfortunately, none of them was able to speak and understand Spanish well enough; the conversation therefore had to be done through an interpreter who knew Ketschua. Moreover, I did not have the time to check the information which I received.

	Aguaruna	Atschual
1. tongue	inĝi	anĝi
2. tooth	njĝi	nĝyi
3. eye	hĩ	←
4. ear	kuwíš	kuíš
5. head	mõk	mõk
6. hand	wuš	ĝš
7. water	yúmi	←
8. fire	hĩ	←
9. sun	itaĝ	←
10. moon	nántu	nándĝ
11. earth (soil)	núnka	núnga
12. stone	káya	←
13. house (dwelling)	hĵna	hĵa
14. pot for cooking	itšinek	kirõtšingan
15. canoe	kánu	←
16. man	aíšmĝ	aíšmań
17. woman	nõa	←
18. fowl, chicken	atíšu	↑←
19. dog	yahũa	←

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20. jaguar	yahúa	←
21. tapir	pámõ	pamâ
22. cayman, alligator	yantáno	yandána
23. stick	nómi	númi
24. manihot	máma	←
25. Indian corn	ša	←
26. plantain		pándam
27. tobacco	sânku	←
28. one	tikídji	skítsik
29. two	hima	himēr
30. three	kampátu	kombátam
31. white	tšamá	wuiyákuti?
32. black	mokúðia?	šuwuínjõ
33. red	kapántu	kiyákau?
good (in connection with people)	poinkě	puēnger
bad (in connection with people)	poinkendjo	inãbtjo
good (in relation to things)	múlji	
bad (in relation to things)	múyi	

28: Tessman--829-830 (No date) 1930 Jivaro-1
116, 126

Cartograms
Material Culture

1. Clothing for Men and Women
2. Ear Ornaments and Head-Presses
3. Ornaments for the Column of the Nose and Tattooing
4. Ornaments for the Sides of the Nose and Tooth-Filing
5. Ornaments for the Lips and Combs
6. Structure of Houses (Main Portion)
7. Walls and Projecting Wings of Dwellings.
8. Huts and Chicken Coops.
9. Sleeping Accomodations
10. Seating Accomodations and Brooms
11. Firefans and Saucers for Pots
12. Domestic Animals
13. Fishing Utensils
14. Weapons for Fishing
15. Blowgun, Quiver, Traps

28: Tessman--829-830 (No date) 1930 Jivaro-2
116, 126

16. The most important edible Plants and their Cultivation (Manihot, Indian Corn, Groundnuts)
17. Sugarcane, Sugarcane Beverages, Tobacco and Kurupa.
18. Kaapi Beverage, Koka, and Guayusa.
19. Salt, Chopping Instruments, and Cornflakes Preparation.
20. Spoons, Drinking and Eating Utensils
21. Preparation and Use of Strings, Bags. Preparation of Fire.
22. Sex of the Spinners. Spinning Products. Shape of Spindle and Loom.
23. Weapons of War
24. Signal Drums, Double-Skin Drum, Rattles
25. Musical Bows, End-blown and Side-blown Flutes, Reed Instrument.

[830] Religious Beliefs

26. Belief in God; Activities of the Soul; Sacrifices to the Soul.
27. Residence and Manifestations of the Soul
28. Types of Sorcerers, Modes of Sorcery (if different, only of black magic). Cause of Death.
29. Weapons of the Evil Sorcerer.
30. The Victim of the Evil Sorcerer. Possibilities of Cures.
31. Magic Apprenticeship. Where does the Magic Power (the Weapons) of the Evil Sorcerer Go When he Dies? What Happens to the Missile When the Victim Dies.

28: Tessman--829-830 (No date) 1930 Jivaro-3
116, 126

Transformation of the Evil Sorcerer.
-32. Circumcision. Menstruation Customs. Cultic Rites. Masks.

Social Culture

33. Sexual Intercourse Between Men Prior to Marriage and Genuine Homosexuals.
34. Premarital Sex Relations. Engagement. Age of the Woman at the Time of Marriage.
35. Who Follows the Marital Partner--the Husband or the Wife? Adultery. Number of Wives.
36. Place of Childbirth. Position of the Woman in Labor-Pains. Behavior of the Father after the Birth. Abstention from Intercourse after the Birth.
37. Burial. Treatment of the Corpse.

Language Families, Cultural Families

38. Distribution of Language Families.
39. Distribution of the Cultural Elements of the Old Curture Family.
40. Distribution of the Cultural Elements of the Amazonian Cultural Family (Main Group).
41. Distribution of the Cultural Elements of the West-Amazonian and the Ucayalian Cultural Groups.
42. Distribution of the Cultural Elements of the Cultural Families of the Sub-Andes and of the North.